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EMOTIONAL VIRALITY AND FRAGMENTED DIGITAL CULTURE: A COMPUTATIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE #INDONESIAHELAP DISCOURSE

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the dynamics of digital activism within the #IndonesiaGelap discourse by focusing on the interplay between virality, emotion, and narrative structure in shaping the quality of public participation. Moving beyond the dominant online-offline dichotomy, this study argues that the limitations of digital activism are not solely rooted in its failure to translate into offline mobilization, but also in the internal weaknesses of digital discourse itself. Employing a qualitative digital discourse analysis supported by big data analytics, this research analyzes cross-platform social media conversations during February 2025. The findings reveal that high levels of virality are not accompanied by sustained public attention, but instead produce intense yet short-lived engagement patterns. Although the term "Indonesia Gelap" emerges as a dominant umbrella label, the narrative structure remains highly fragmented, with low cohesion across competing sub-issues. In terms of symbolic representation, the absence of a consistent symbolic anchor prevents the formation of a unified collective identity, reducing the discourse to an aggregation of issues rather than a coordinated movement. Furthermore, participation is predominantly characterized by low-risk activism, as indicated by the dominance of retweet-based interactions, limited deliberative engagement, and strong dependence on momentum-driven attention cycles. This pattern suggests that digital participation functions more as content amplification than as collective meaning-making. Conceptually, this study extends the "many clicks but little sticks" framework by demonstrating that the limitations of digital activism also stem from the inability of digital discourse to develop narrative cohesion, symbolic consistency, and sustained engagement. These findings highlight that virality alone is insufficient to produce meaningful movement consolidation within social media ecosystems.

KEYWORDS: Digital Activism; Social Media Discourse; Virality; Narrative Fragmentation; Symbolic Representation; Low-Risk Activism; Public Engagement.

1. INTRODUCTION

The rapid expansion of social media has fundamentally transformed the landscape of public participation in social and political issues, enabling the rapid diffusion of information and large-scale mobilization of opinion (Saqib et al., 2024; Zhou & Jin, 2021). In the Indonesian context, digital movements frequently achieve high levels of visibility and engagement within short periods of time. However, this apparent intensity of online participation raises a critical question: does digital engagement reflect meaningful movement consolidation, or does it merely constitute symbolic and short-lived participation?

Scholars have long grappled with this tension. Lim (2013) conceptualizes this phenomenon as “many clicks but little sticks,” highlighting the disjuncture between high online participation and limited sustained collective action. Within this framework, successful digital activism depends on the ability to construct simplified narratives, strong symbolic representations, and a shared collective identity capable of unifying participants. Yet, existing scholarship has largely operationalized this problem through an online–offline dichotomy, evaluating success primarily in terms of whether digital engagement translates into offline mobilization (Malandrino, 2024a; Pournaki & Willaert, 2025; Taha & Abdallah, 2025).

This dominant approach presents a significant conceptual limitation. By privileging offline action as the primary indicator of success, prior studies tend to overlook the internal dynamics of digital discourse itself. Before any transformation into collective action can occur, a movement must first achieve a certain level of consolidation within the digital sphere,

manifested through narrative cohesion, sustained public attention, and coherent emotional structures (Kianpour et al., 2025; Malandrino, 2024b; Widayat et al., 2023). In this sense, the failure of mobilization cannot be attributed solely to external constraints, but may also stem from the immaturity of the discourse structure within digital spaces.

Moreover, the existing literature often treats virality as an initial indicator of movement strength without critically interrogating its quality (Bust et al., 2023; Martens et al., 2022; Törnberg et al., 2021). High volumes of online activity are frequently equated with collective support, despite the possibility that virality may be ephemeral, fragmented, and weakly coordinated. At the same time, the role of emotions in shaping engagement patterns remains underexplored in relation to narrative structure. Studies on digital emotions tend to be analytically isolated, without examining whether emotional dynamics contribute to narrative cohesion or, conversely, reinforce fragmentation (Alhafez et al., 2023; Rustamaji et al., 2025).

This study addresses these limitations through an empirical analysis of the #IndonesiaGelap discourse, which emerged as a viral phenomenon on social media in February 2025. The discourse experienced a sharp spike in activity, peaking at more than 36,000 posts in a single day, followed by a rapid decline, indicating unstable patterns of public attention. Simultaneously, the proliferation of diverse issues and hashtags suggests the presence of narrative fragmentation rather than a coherent discursive structure. These dynamics raise a central question: does high engagement within #IndonesiaGelap indicate movement consolidation, or does it instead reflect fragmented and weakly structured discourse?

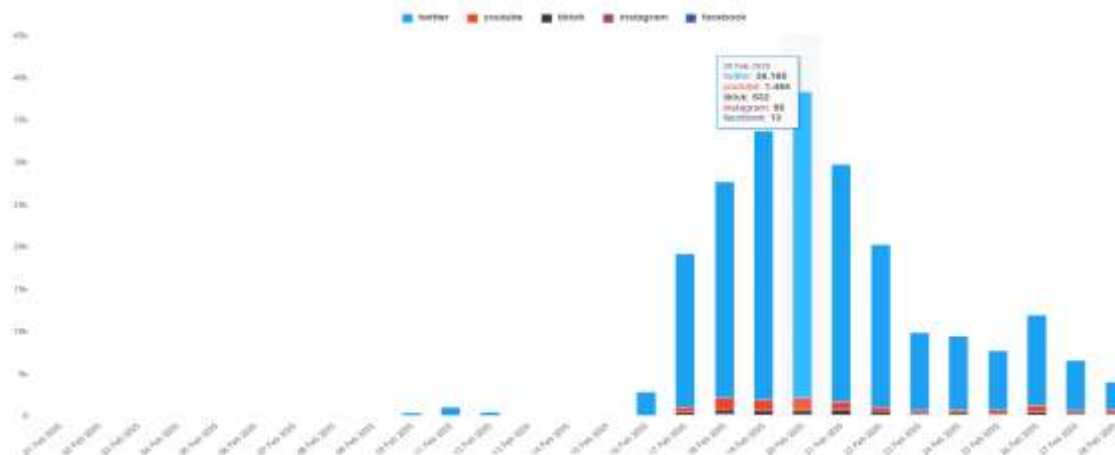


Figure 1. Daily Trend of #IndonesiaGelap Conversation Volume by Social Media Platform (February 2025)
 Source: Processed data using Nvivo 12 Plus, 2026.

Building on this context, this study advances three key contributions. First, it shifts the analytical focus

from the online–offline divide to the internal quality of digital discourse, emphasizing narrative cohesion as a prerequisite for mobilization (Cascini et al., 2022; Duffy et al., 2021; Sumartias et al., 2023). Second, it challenges the assumption that virality equates to movement strength by demonstrating that virality may be ephemeral and uncoordinated (Alsharairi et al., 2025; Koc-Michalska et al., 2023; Terren & Borge, 2021). Third, it integrates the dimensions of emotion, virality, and narrative structure into a unified analytical framework, addressing a gap in prior research where these dimensions have largely been examined in isolation.

Accordingly, this study aims to analyze the dynamics of digital activism in the #IndonesiaGelap discourse by focusing on three interrelated aspects: (1) the temporal patterns of virality and the sustainability of public attention, (2) the distribution of emotions in digital conversations, and (3) the degree of narrative cohesion or fragmentation. Specifically, this study seeks to answer the following research question: how do virality, emotion, and narrative structure interact in shaping the character of digital activism?

Theoretically, this study extends the “many clicks but little sticks” framework by demonstrating that the limitations of digital activism are not only rooted in the failure to translate into offline action, but also in the inability of digital discourse itself to generate sufficient cohesion. By foregrounding the internal structure of discourse, this study offers a new perspective for understanding digital activism, particularly in explaining why certain movements remain at the level of virality without evolving into more structured and sustained collective action

2. METHODS OF THE STUDY

2.1 Research Design

This study employs a qualitative approach supported by big data–driven social media analysis to examine the characteristics of digital activism within the #IndonesiaGelap discourse (Creswell, 2014). Specifically, it adopts a qualitative digital discourse analysis framework, which focuses on interpreting communication patterns, narrative structures, and participation dynamics in digital environments. This approach is particularly suitable for capturing the complexity of platform-mediated interactions, which extend beyond quantitative metrics and encompass symbolic meanings, emotional expressions, and socially constructed narratives. The study is exploratory–interpretive in nature, aiming to identify patterns of virality, emotional distribution, and narrative structure

within large-scale digital conversations. By integrating computational data processing with qualitative interpretation, this approach enables a more comprehensive understanding of digital activism, bridging the gap between large-scale data analytics and theoretically grounded analysis.

2.2 Data Collection and Processing

Data were collected using a keyword-based crawling method, employing the search queries (“Indonesia Gelap”) OR (“#IndonesiaGelap”) over the period of 1–28 February 2025. The dataset was compiled from five major social media platforms: Twitter, TikTok, YouTube, Instagram, and Facebook. The selection of keywords ensures the relevance of the dataset while reflecting how users collectively identify and frame the issue through shared terminology and hashtags. The resulting dataset reveals an uneven distribution of activity across platforms. Twitter dominates the discourse with 208,780 posts, followed by TikTok (2,660), YouTube (1,987), Instagram (508), and Facebook (138). This distribution indicates that the #IndonesiaGelap discourse is primarily situated within text-based communication environments that facilitate rapid opinion exchange, while other platforms play a relatively marginal role.

Data processing and analysis were conducted using the Nvivo 12 Plus system, a data-driven analytical framework designed to monitor, process, and analyze digital conversations in a structured and near real-time manner. NVIVO 12 PLUS integrates data crawling techniques, natural language processing (NLP), and sentiment and emotion analysis to generate a comprehensive representation of digital discourse. Prior to analysis, the dataset underwent standard preprocessing procedures, including data cleaning (removal of duplicates, spam, and irrelevant content) and data structuring. The structured dataset was organized along multiple dimensions, including time (time series), platform, sentiment, emotion, and issue categories. This preprocessing stage ensures the reliability and analytical consistency of the dataset.

To ensure clarity, the computational procedures in this study are used as supportive tools rather than as the primary focus of analysis. The emphasis is placed on interpreting patterns generated from the data, rather than on the technical complexity of the algorithms themselves.

2.3 Analytical Strategy

To improve clarity and accessibility, the analytical process is structured into four sequential steps that

combine computational analysis with qualitative interpretation.

- First, temporal analysis was conducted to examine the dynamics of digital conversations over time. Daily post volumes were analyzed to identify patterns of growth, peak activity, and decline. This step allows the study to capture how virality emerges and how long public attention is sustained.

- Second, cross-platform analysis was used to compare the distribution of discourse across social media platforms. The proportion of posts from each platform was calculated to understand where the conversation is concentrated and how platform characteristics shape participation patterns.

- Third, emotion analysis was applied to identify the dominant emotional tone of the discourse. Using a lexicon-based NLP classification within NVIVO 12 PLUS, each post was categorized into sentiment (positive, neutral, negative) and emotion categories (e.g., anger, fear, trust). The results were then analyzed to observe how emotional patterns relate to spikes in engagement.

- Fourth, narrative structure analysis was conducted through keyword co-occurrence and issue clustering. Frequently appearing keywords and hashtags were grouped into thematic clusters to

assess whether the discourse converges into a coherent narrative or fragments into multiple competing issues.

Finally, these findings were interpreted using Lim's (2013) framework, focusing on three key dimensions: narrative simplification, symbolic representation, and low-risk activism. This step ensures that the analysis remains theoretically grounded while maintaining clarity for readers from different disciplinary backgrounds.

3. RESULTS

3.1 Simplification of Narrative

Simplification of narrative refers to the process through which complex socio-political issues are reduced into more accessible, easily communicable forms within social media ecosystems (Avelino, 2021; Benkler, 2008; Wu et al., 2025). In digital activism, such simplification plays a critical role in enhancing visibility and accelerating information diffusion. However, effective simplification is not solely indicated by the dominance of a single label, but also by the degree of narrative cohesion that integrates diverse issues into a coherent interpretative framework.



Figure 2. Issue Frequency Distribution and Word Cloud

Source: Processed data using Nvivo 12 Plus, 2026.

As shown in Figure 2, the term “Indonesia Gelap” emerges as a highly dominant issue, with a frequency of 118,501, significantly surpassing other topics such as “aksi indonesia gelap” (29,529), “presiden prabowo” (12,515), and “patung kuda” (11,442). This pattern indicates a strong process of narrative reduction, where heterogeneous socio-political concerns are compressed into a single overarching label functioning as an umbrella term. From an analytical perspective, this reflects high keyword

centrality, suggesting that the discourse is anchored around a dominant signifier that facilitates rapid diffusion (Lutkenhaus et al., 2025; Paskarina, 2023).

However, a closer examination of secondary issue distributions reveals that such simplification does not translate into strong narrative cohesion. The relatively comparable frequencies among multiple sub-issues, such as “jakarta pusat” (10,358), “negara demokrasi” (8,540), “orang mahasiswa” (8,530), and “koalisi masyarakat sipil” (7,310), indicate a low

issue concentration index. Rather than converging into a unified interpretative frame, the discourse disperses across multiple thematic directions. This suggests that simplification operates primarily at the

level of labeling, while the underlying narrative structure remains fragmented and weakly integrated.



Figure 3. Issue Engagement Distribution
Source: Processed data using Nvivo 12 Plus, 2026.

Further insights are provided by the engagement distribution in Figure 3. The issue “IndonesiaGelap” exhibits exceptionally high engagement (3,178,591.76), confirming its effectiveness in capturing widespread public attention. Nevertheless, other issues, most notably “patung kuda” (742,124.56), also generate disproportionately high engagement compared to structurally related topics such as “aksi indonesia gelap” (164,266.46) and “presiden prabowo” (91,329.05).

This pattern reveals a critical decoupling between narrative dominance and attention distribution. While the main label successfully centralizes discourse at the surface level, audience engagement is fragmented across multiple issue nodes. In other words, attention does not follow a hierarchical narrative structure but instead circulates across competing focal points (Atsilah Siregar & Nugroho, 2025; Yue & Yu, 2025a). This indicates that the simplification process fails to produce a stable center of meaning, resulting in what can be described as distributed attention fragmentation.

Analytically, these findings suggest that simplification within the #IndonesiaGelap discourse is structurally shallow. Although a dominant label enables rapid viral diffusion, it does not function as an integrative narrative core capable of aligning diverse issues into a coherent discourse (Dai et al., 2023; Yue & Yu, 2025b; Zhang, 2023). Instead, the discourse exhibits characteristics of surface-level

convergence and deep-level fragmentation, where symbolic unification at the label level coexists with interpretative dispersion at the issue level.

Overall, these findings indicate that narrative simplification in the #IndonesiaGelap discourse operates only at a surface level. While a dominant label facilitates visibility and rapid diffusion, the dispersion of sub-issues and engagement patterns demonstrates weak narrative integration. This suggests that simplification alone does not produce cohesive discourse, thereby limiting its capacity to support sustained collective mobilization.

3.2 Symbolic Representation

Symbolic representation refers to the presence of symbols, slogans, or representational elements that are capable of unifying participants into a shared collective identity. Within digital activism, symbols function as cognitive shortcuts that facilitate recognition, amplify emotional resonance, and strengthen movement cohesion (Bruns, 2023; Friemel & Neuberger, 2023; Quintanilha, 2018). Unlike narrative simplification, which concerns the reduction of issue complexity, symbolic representation focuses on whether a discourse possesses a stable and dominant signifier that consistently anchors diverse expressions into a unified symbolic framework.

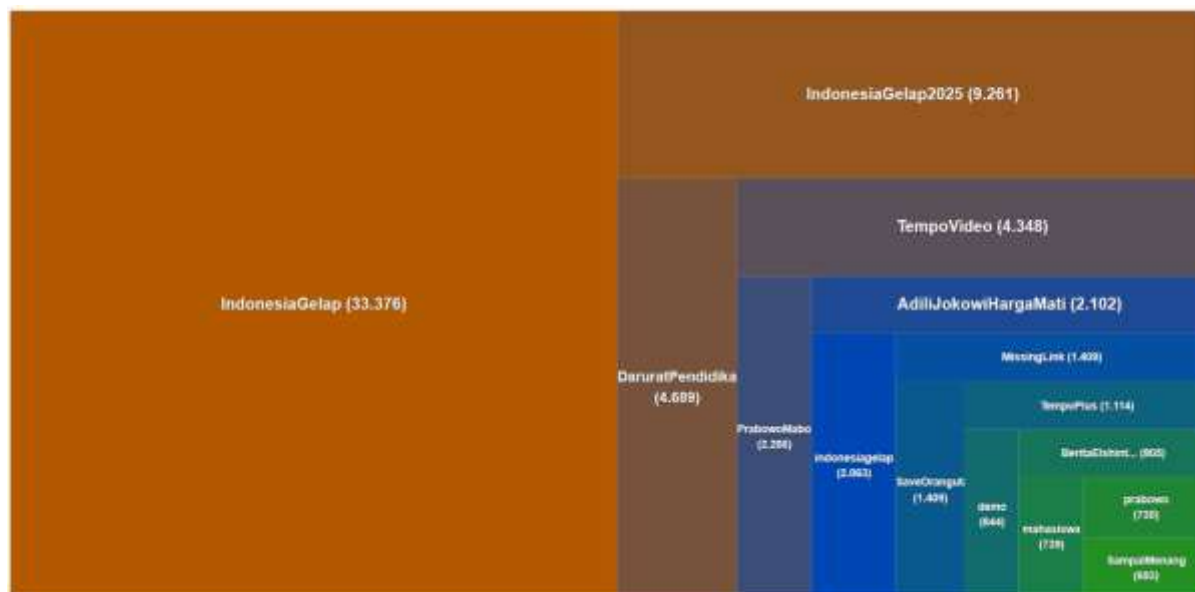


Figure 4. Hashtag Distribution
Source: Processed data using Nvivo 12 Plus, 2026.

As illustrated in Figure 4, the hashtag “#IndonesiaGelap” appears as the most dominant label, with a frequency of 33,376, followed by “#IndonesiaGelap2025” (9,261) and “#DaruratPendidikan” (4,689). At a surface level, this dominance suggests the presence of a central symbolic marker that aggregates discourse under a shared label. From a symbolic perspective, such dominance can be interpreted as an initial form of collective signification, where disparate conversations are loosely organized under a common identifier.

However, this apparent dominance does not

translate into strong symbolic consolidation. The emergence of multiple competing hashtags, such as “#TempoVideo” (4,348), “#PrabowoMabokKekuasaan” (2,266), and “#AdiliJokowiHargaMati” (2,102), indicates that symbolic expression is dispersed across divergent thematic and political orientations. Rather than converging toward a unified symbolic anchor, the discourse exhibits symbolic proliferation without integration. This pattern reflects low symbolic consistency, where no single symbol is able to stabilize meaning across the discourse.

Table 1. Hashtag Frequency Distribution.

No	Hashtag	Frequency	Interpretation
1	IndonesiaGelap	33,376	Main hashtag functioning as an umbrella label that dominates and unifies the discourse
2	IndonesiaGelap2025	9,261	Temporal variation that extends the scope of the main narrative
3	DaruratPendidikan	4,689	Specific sub-issue indicating thematic differentiation within the discourse
4	TempoVideo	4,348	Indicator of media involvement in amplifying the issue
5	PrabowoMabokKekuasaan	2,266	Representation of political criticism directed at a specific actor

Table 1 further substantiates this pattern by demonstrating the relative distribution of hashtag frequencies. Although “#IndonesiaGelap” occupies the highest position, the gap between the dominant hashtag and subsequent hashtags is not sufficiently large to establish symbolic hegemony. Moreover, the presence of unrelated or weakly connected hashtags, such as “#SaveOrangutanTapanuli” and “#MissingLink”, suggests the intrusion of external issue frames into the discourse. This indicates that the hashtag “#IndonesiaGelap” functions less as a

coherent symbol and more as an aggregative container that accommodates heterogeneous and loosely connected narratives.

Analytically, this condition points to the absence of a symbolic anchor, defined as a stable and widely shared representational element capable of aligning participants within a unified interpretative horizon (Jablonski et al., 2023; Matsentu, 2025; Ouedraogo et al., 2025). Instead, the discourse demonstrates a pattern of symbolic fragmentation, where multiple competing signifiers coexist without hierarchical

organization or semantic convergence. As a result, symbolic expression remains decentralized and fails to produce a shared collective identity.

This finding suggests that symbolic representation within the #IndonesiaGelap discourse is structurally weak. While the dominant hashtag enables categorization and visibility, it lacks the depth and consistency required to function as a unifying symbol. In contrast to successful cases of digital activism, where symbols operate as focal points of identification and mobilization, the hashtag in this case operates primarily as an administrative label rather than a meaningful symbolic construct.

In summary, symbolic representation within the #IndonesiaGelap discourse remains weak and fragmented. Although a dominant hashtag exists, it functions primarily as an aggregative label rather than a unifying symbolic anchor. The lack of

symbolic consistency limits the formation of collective identity and constrains the coherence of the movement.

3.3 Low-Risk Activism

Low-risk activism refers to forms of digital participation that are easily performed, require minimal effort, and involve little to no personal risk. In social media environments, this mode of engagement is typically characterized by click-based interactions (e.g., retweets), high participation volume without substantive contribution, and temporally unstable engagement patterns. Accordingly, this analysis focuses on three key indicators: participation intensity, participation type, and temporal engagement dynamics.

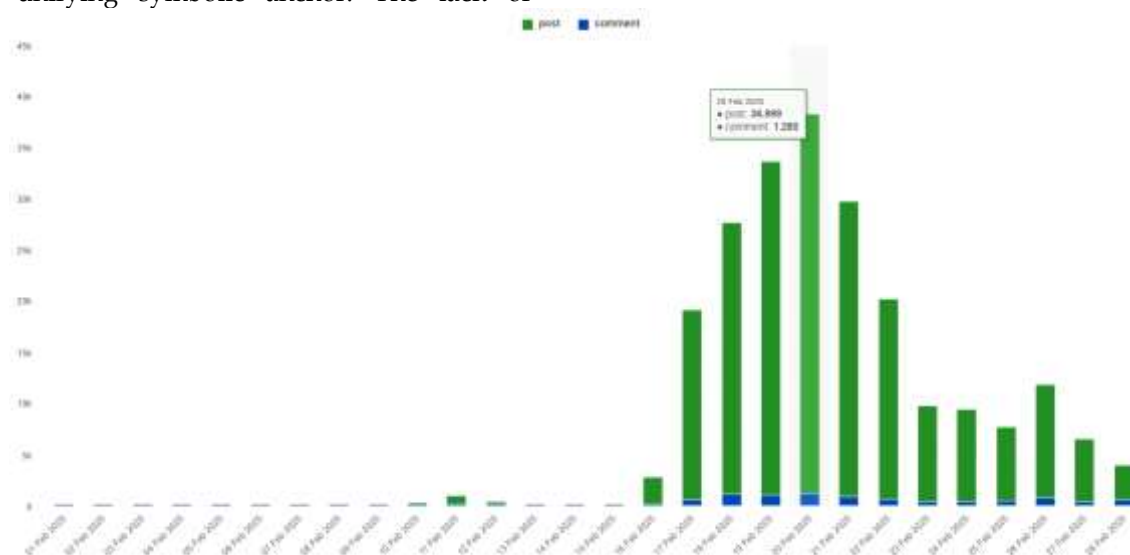


Figure 5. Posting and Comment Trends
Source: Processed data using Nvivo 12 Plus, 2026.

Figure 5 presents the distribution between posts and comments over the observation period. The data reveal a pronounced imbalance between the two forms of interaction. Posting activity increases sharply beginning on 17 February and peaks on 20 February (36,999 posts), whereas comment activity remains consistently low (1,280 at peak). In proportional terms, comments account for less than 5% of total interactions, indicating a significant lack

of deliberative engagement. This disparity suggests that participation is dominated by expression without interaction, where users contribute content but do not engage in dialogic exchange. From an analytical perspective, this reflects low engagement depth, in which participation remains surface-level and does not evolve into meaningful discussion or collective deliberation.

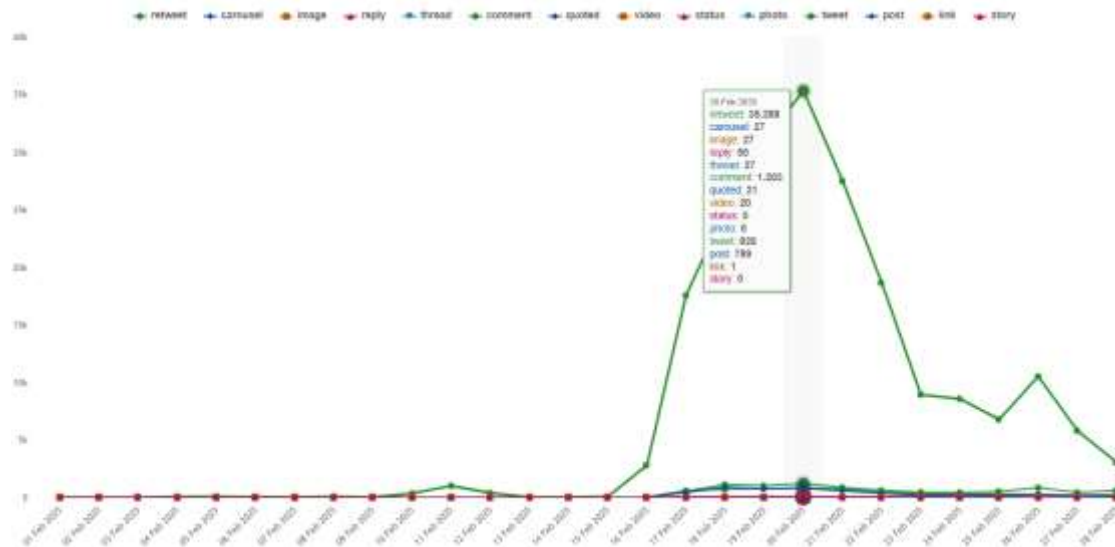


Figure 6. Post Trend and Interaction Composition
 Source: Processed data using Nvivo 12 Plus, 2026.

Further insights into participation patterns are illustrated in Figure 6, which shows the composition of interaction types. The data indicate an overwhelming dominance of retweet activity, reaching 35,288 at its peak (20 February), far exceeding other forms such as original tweets (826), posts (789), and comments (1,203). Retweets account for more than 90% of total interactions.

This pattern highlights a critical shift from content

creation to content amplification. Users primarily act as distributors of information rather than active contributors to discourse production. Analytically, this reflects a mode of participation characterized by passive circulation, where engagement is measured through visibility rather than substantive input. Such dynamics reinforce the notion that digital activism in this context is driven by ease of participation rather than depth of involvement.

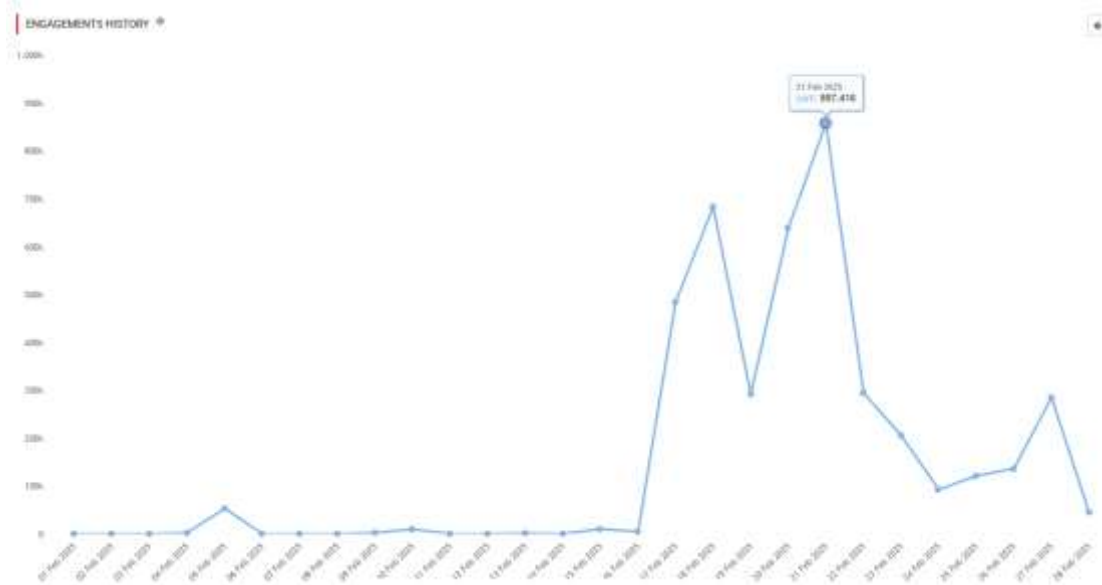


Figure 7. Temporal Engagement Dynamics
 Source: Processed data using Nvivo 12 Plus, 2026.

Figure 7 further demonstrates the temporal dynamics of engagement, revealing a sharp increase beginning on 17 February (484,261.79), peaking on 21 February (857,416.16), followed by a rapid decline in the subsequent days. This pattern reflects a short-

lived engagement cycle, where public attention intensifies rapidly but dissipates just as quickly.

From an analytical standpoint, this dynamic indicates event-driven engagement, in which participation is triggered by specific moments rather

than sustained commitment. The volatility of attention suggests the absence of institutionalization or continuity within the discourse, reinforcing the characterization of participation as episodic and momentum-based.

Taken together, these three indicators consistently demonstrate that the #IndonesiaGelap discourse is predominantly shaped by low-risk activism. High participation volume is not accompanied by meaningful engagement depth, as evidenced by the minimal proportion of comments. The dominance of retweets further indicates that user activity is oriented toward content dissemination rather than deliberation or knowledge production. Finally, the rapid rise-and-fall pattern of engagement confirms that participation is temporally unstable and lacks sustainability.

Taken together, these findings confirm that participation within the #IndonesiaGelap discourse is predominantly low-risk and low-commitment. High levels of activity are driven by content amplification rather than meaningful interaction, while engagement patterns remain short-lived and unstable. This limits the potential for sustained and organized forms of digital activism.

4. DISCUSSION

The findings of this study provide important insights into the internal dynamics of digital activism, particularly by revealing the limitations of virality as an indicator of meaningful collective engagement. At the level of narrative structure, the results show that simplification of narrative within the #IndonesiaGelap discourse operates primarily at a surface level and fails to develop into cohesive meaning structures. While the dominance of the term “Indonesia Gelap” as an umbrella label confirms Lim’s (2013) argument that simplified narratives facilitate rapid diffusion, the low concentration of sub-issues demonstrates that such simplification does not translate into interpretative alignment.

This finding challenges the implicit assumption in existing literature that simplification inherently contributes to movement consolidation. Instead, the results suggest that simplification without integration produces what can be conceptualized as fragmented convergence, a condition in which participants gather around a shared label but diverge in meaning-making processes. In this sense, virality emerges not as a product of collective coherence, but as a byproduct of loosely connected interpretations circulating under a common signifier.

In terms of symbolic representation, the study further demonstrates the absence of a stable symbolic

anchor capable of consolidating collective identity. Although the hashtag #IndonesiaGelap functions as a dominant label, it fails to operate as a unifying symbol in a deeper sense. The proliferation of competing hashtags indicates that symbolic expression is dispersed rather than centralized. This condition reflects symbolic fragmentation, where no single representational element is able to stabilize meaning or coordinate collective identification.

This finding extends Lim’s framework by emphasizing that symbolic strength is not merely about visibility or frequency, but about consistency and integrative capacity. Without a shared symbolic reference point, participation remains individualized and lacks the coherence necessary for collective alignment. Thus, even in contexts of high engagement, the absence of symbolic consolidation constrains the emergence of a unified movement identity.

At the level of participation dynamics, the dominance of low-risk activism strongly supports Lim’s argument regarding the prevalence of low-cost participation in digital environments. However, this study goes further by demonstrating the mechanisms through which low-risk participation undermines movement sustainability. The overwhelming reliance on retweet-based interactions, combined with minimal deliberative engagement, indicates that participation is structured around content amplification rather than meaning production.

Moreover, the observed temporal patterns, characterized by rapid spikes followed by steep declines, highlight the ephemeral nature of digital attention cycles. This suggests that participation is driven by momentary triggers rather than sustained commitment. In this context, engagement becomes event-dependent and lacks the continuity required for institutionalization. As a result, digital activism operates within what can be described as a high-intensity but low-durability participation model, where visibility is achieved without long-term consolidation.

Importantly, this study demonstrates that these three dimensions, narrative simplification, symbolic representation, and participation dynamics, are not independent, but structurally interconnected. Superficial simplification generates fragmented interpretations; weak symbolic representation prevents the formation of collective identity; and low-risk participation limits the depth and sustainability of engagement. Together, these conditions produce a form of digital activism that is highly visible yet structurally fragile.

This integrated perspective allows for a

theoretical extension of the “many clicks but little sticks” framework. Rather than attributing the limitations of digital activism solely to the failure of translating online engagement into offline action, this study shows that the problem is rooted earlier, within the internal structure of digital discourse itself. In other words, the inability to achieve narrative cohesion, symbolic integration, and sustained participation constrains the potential for mobilization even before offline translation becomes relevant.

Thus, the findings suggest that virality should not be treated as a proxy for movement strength. Instead, the quality of digital discourse, measured through cohesion, symbolic consistency, and engagement depth, constitutes a more critical determinant of whether digital activism can evolve into structured and sustained collective action.

5. CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that digital activism within the #IndonesiaGelap discourse is predominantly characterized by low-risk participation, where high levels of engagement are not accompanied by meaningful interaction or sustained commitment. While the dominance of the term “Indonesia Gelap” indicates the presence of narrative simplification, this process fails to generate cohesive meaning structures. Instead, the discourse evolves in a fragmented manner, with multiple competing sub-issues that are not integrated into a consistent interpretative framework. In addition, the

findings reveal that symbolic representation within the discourse remains weak. Although a dominant hashtag exists, it does not function as a unifying symbolic anchor capable of consolidating participants into a shared collective identity. As a result, the discourse operates more as an aggregative space for heterogeneous issues rather than as a coordinated movement with a clear direction.

The most significant finding lies in the dominance of low-risk activism, reflected in retweet-driven participation, minimal deliberative engagement, and temporally unstable interaction patterns. Digital participation in this case is primarily oriented toward content amplification rather than substantive discussion or collective meaning-making. The rapid rise and decline of engagement further indicate that public attention is momentum-driven and lacks sustainability. Taken together, these findings suggest that the limitations of digital activism in the #IndonesiaGelap case are not solely attributable to the failure of translating online engagement into offline action. Rather, they are rooted in the internal structure of digital discourse itself, which lacks narrative cohesion, symbolic integration, and sustained engagement.

This study contributes to the literature by demonstrating that virality alone is insufficient to produce structured collective action. Instead, the quality of digital discourse, defined by coherent narratives, strong symbolic anchors, and meaningful participation, plays a more decisive role in determining whether digital activism can evolve into sustained and organized movements.

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